I: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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842 affirms that copulating with her husband afterwards makes the children his. One woman, Numda, was an exception, and frankly told me that two different lovers were the fathers of two of her children. She said she knew this was so because of the resemblance of the children to their respective fathers. Her husband knows it too, as did also the two fathers, one of whom gave *tsera* to his child. Both the lovers died when the children were quite young.

848 851 In this society, where every woman has a husband who accepts all of her children regardless of their actual father, there are no illegitimate children. But, as always, the usual exceptions occur, and there are a few unmarried women—a widow who has not yet remarried, or some young girl who has not married for some reason or other as soon as she has come of age.[1] Now if such an unmarried woman becomes pregnant her lover is under no obligation to marry her, and takes no responsibility for any issue. First, he does not know if the child is really his, as the woman has probably had several lovers. Secondly, all he wanted was intercourse, not marriage, and the Melanesian distinguishes very clearly between the two. His attitude is in striking contrast to that of the husband, who accepts all of his wife's children as his own, regardless of whether they actually are or not. Should an unmarried woman have children, there is no social ostracism of her or the children. Landa, the widow with ringworm disease, has already been mentioned. Her children have no father, but both they and the mother have a social position in the community equal to anyone, and are not affected by the lack of a father and husband. While no disgrace is attached to a fatherless child, still it is considered unfortunate not to have a father, one of the

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[1] To-day the reason may be that her betrothed is away working on a plantation, and she is waiting for him to return. But even in the past there were occasionally women who were not married as soon as they came of age. See the individual life histories.

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reasons for which is reflected in the myth of the Warawara *malanggan*.

This myth tells the tale of how some *malanggans* were being displayed, and the men were eating at a feast for them in the enclosure. They refused to let a fatherless boy (an illegitimate one in our sense) join them because he had no *tsera* and no pig. His mother has no husband from whom he can get them. The boy's mother is sorry for him, and says she will teach him how to make a new *malanggan*, so she makes the Warawara *malanggan*. When it is finished she holds a great feast.

In this tale it is the economic motive which appears to be uppermost. The boy is not invited to the feast because he has not contributed anything. However, in actual practice, as in the case of Landa's children, the clan relatives of the fatherless child and the mother would come to his aid with the necessary *tsera*. In the myth it is only the mother who comes to his aid. In discussing hypothetical cases with informants, they all told me that the clan relatives would always help these fatherless children.

FAMILY SENTIMENTS

We have seen, in general, how sexual life outside of marriage fits into the social scheme, and how it may have a certain economic significance in the family life. There remains still the question of whether it has any deeper emotional and personal significance in the life of the family. What is the attitude of the husband towards his wife's lovers? Although we find one social attitude, there is no one inflexible attitude for all husbands. In accordance with the difference in the temperament of the individuals, we find husbands taking varied attitudes toward the lovers of their wives. Some men are jealous, and some are not. Some men gladly accept the *tsera* from their wives, who have received it from their lovers,

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

[177] [837] During the excitement of the night dances, *hot*, and in ordinary times, people simply went into the bush and indulged themselves whenever desire came and opportunity offered, and, if complications occurred, no one seemed to worry very much about them. Children were absorbed [848] into the social group of the mother, and apparently children without social fathers suffered little on that account. Now, however, all is changed, and the people are struggling to adapt their natural instincts to the modified sexual activity that has been laid down for them. There appears, however, to be little doubt that more or less adaptation may be achieved within the next generation.

It is evident, therefore, that in the clash between European and native culture, with the dominance of the European, the natives have suffered from a certain degree of apathy. First, the establishment of Government control and subjugation of hostile tribes, which left them without the very conditions that, paradoxically enough, gave them the incentive to survive. Next, the introduction of commercial enterprise, which led to the gradual alienation of the most fertile land and squeezed the inhabitants into odd corners, cut off from one another in places by the thrusts of European settlement, and which led to the taking away of virile males and females in numbers damaging to the population. Next, the road work and other Government enterprises that took the relatively few able-bodied men left in the villages away from their gardens and other native work, and undoubtedly upset still further the already bewildered inhabitants. Then, the administrative experiments endeavouring by force to blend socially and physically people differing in language and culture who but a short time before had been bitterly fighting one another. One needs little imagination to appreciate the sufferings of a small group of bush people compelled to build villages among their coastal enemies and live in them away from their own environment, conditions, traditional stimuli and other forces on which their very vitality depends, to live moreover practically on the bounty of their coastal enemies, who would resent the intrusion as much as the intruders. Out of such conditions there must have arisen innumerable and continuous anti-social practices on the part of both peoples to resist the objective of the German Government, and, realizing the constant state of fear and anxiety in which such groups would live, one wonders there are any survivors at all: then—on top of this—the missions attempting to transform the little that is left!

Such, briefly, and perhaps harshly, are the processes that have been operating actively in this district for the past 40 years. It is too early yet for any definite good to have come out of the changes and teaching, and it is doubtful whether permanent results will be achieved while the males and females of the original generation are still alive, as their presence and their influence will ever form a resisting barrier to the